

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 391456
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /013 R

66011
DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:JHHAWES/LM
APPROVED BY EUR/RPM:MR. HOLMES
----- 001413 /15

R 150015Z DEC 76
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY SOFIA 9496

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 291456

FOL RPT STATE 291456 ACTION MBFR VIENNA 3 DEC QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 291456

FOL REPEAT STATE 291456 ACTION NATO INFO BELGRADE BONN BUCHAREST
LONDON MADRID MOSCOW PARIS USUN NEW YORK DTD 30 ,NOV.

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 291456

HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, PFOR

SUBJECT: WARSAW PACT DECLARATION

REF: USNATO 6505

1. WE AGREE TWO ITEMS EMANATING FROM WARSAW PACT PCC IN
BUCHAREST MERIT DISCUSSION IN NATO: (A) DRAFT TREATY ON
NON-FIRST-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; AND (B) PROPOSED FREEZE
ON NATO AND WARSAW PACT MEMBERSHIP. MISSION MAY DRAW
ON FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS FOR PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION IN
POLADS AND PERMREPS LUNCH, AND SEEK ALLIED COMMENTS.
REGARDING SPECIFIC RESPONSE TO WARSAW PACT PROPOSALS IN
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NAC COMMUNIQUE, OUR INITIAL VIEW IS THAT A DIRECT RESPONSE

BY NATO AS AN ALLIANCE IS NOT REQUIRED, AT LEAST NOT BEFORE THOROUGH REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF ALLIANCE, CSCE, AND DISARMAMENT IMPLICATIONS. HOWEVER, WE ARE INTERESTED IN ALLIED VIEWS.

2. MISSION SHOULD ALSO CONSULT WITH ALLIES ON APPROPRIATE PUBLIC LINE WHICH, WE BELIEVE, SHOULD NOTE THAT THE PRIMARY PURPOSE OF THE CSCE BELGRADE MEETING IS A THOROUGH REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION OF EXISTING COMMITMENTS IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. THE PROPOSED TREATY ON NON-FIRST-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS AN OLD IDEA AND WOULD APPEAR

LIKELY TO HAVE THE EFFECT OF DIVERTING ATTENTION FROM THE MAIN AND IMPORTANT TASK AT BELGRADE -- REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION. FULL GUIDANCE FOR PRESS SPOKESMAN WILL FOLLOW BY SEPTTEL.

3. PROPOSED TREATY ON NON-FIRST-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: SOVIET INTENT IN FLOATING DRAFT OF TREATY TO CSCE PARTICIPANTS MAY BE TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM WESTERN EMPHASIS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF HELSINKI ACCORDS. NON-FIRST-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WAS A FREQUENT SOVIET PROPOSAL THROUGH THE 1950S AND 1960S UNTIL MERGED INTO 1972 BREZHNEV UNGA PROPOSAL OF NON-USE-OF FORCE. IT WAS, FOR EXAMPLE, RAISED BY SOVIETS IN 1970 IN SALT CONTEXT AND REJECTED. IT WAS CONSISTENTLY VIEWED BY US AND ALLIES AS AN ATTACK ON NATO TRIAD OF CONVENTIONAL, THEATER NUCLEAR AND STRATEGIC FORCES, DESIGNED TO LIMIT THE DETERRENT EFFECT OF A POSSIBLE NATO NUCLEAR RESPONSE TO A SOVIET CONVENTIONAL ATTACK, DECOUPLING US STRATEGIC FORCES FROM THE CONTINENT. SOVIET PROPOSAL MAY ALSO BE AIMED INDIRECTLY AT CHINESE, WHO MAINTAIN THEIR OWN NON-FIRST-USE POSITION, BUT WHO WOULD PRESUMABLY NOT WISH TO SEE NATO CONSTRAINED BY NON-FIRST-USE. THE RECENT SOVIET NON-USE-OF FORCE PROPOSAL IN THE UNGA, WHICH THE ALLIANCE AGREED SHOULD NOT BE SUPPORTED, DID NOT CONTAIN A NON-FIRST-USE PROVISION. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE SOVIETS, IN VIEW OF THE NEGATIVE RECEPTION ACCORDED THEIR NUF PROPOSAL BY NATO AND OTHER EUROPEANS AT THE UNGA, HAVE DECIDED TO PUT FORWARD THE NON-FIRST-USE OF NUCLEAR

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WEAPONS IDEA AS HAVING POTENTIALLY MORE PUBLIC CREDIBILITY AT BELGRADE, SEEKING TO DIRECT ATTENTION TO SENSITIVE NUCLEAR QUESTIONS. ALLIES WILL WANT TO CONSULT CLOSELY ON TACTICS FOR HANDLING SUBJECT TO PREVENT SOVIETS FROM ESTABLISHING NON-FIRST-USE PROPOSAL AS MAJOR TOPIC AT BELGRADE, AND TO KEEP FOCUS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF HELSINKI ACCORDS.

4. PROPOSED AGREEMENT FREEZING MEMBERSHIP OF NATO AND WARSAW PACT: THE MOST OBVIOUS OBJECTIVE OF SUCH SUGGESTION, NOTED ALSO IN PRESS ACCOUNTS, WOULD BE TO PREVENT EVENTUAL SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO. AS NATO WATCHES POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN, WE WILL WISH TO HOLD OPEN POSSIBILITY OF MEMBERSHIP, WHICH US SUPPORTS. SINCE THE PROPOSAL IS AN OBVIOUS NON-STARTER, ITS USE FOR PROPAGANDA UNDOUBTEDLY WEIGHED HEAVILY IN SOVIET MOTIVATION, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF TIMING ON EVE OF MINISTERIAL, AND WITH CSCE BELGRADE MEETING NOT FAR DISTANT. WE DO NOT THINK NATO NEED SAY ANYTHING ON THE REPORTED PROPOSAL IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY FORMAL APPROACH BY THE SOVIETS, AND IT IS NOT CLEAR FROM PRESS ACCOUNTS WHETHER OR HOW SUCH AN

APPROACH MIGHT BE MADE. IF SOVIETS PUSH PROPOSAL, HOWEVER, ALLIANCE WILL WANT TO CONSIDER THE BEST TACTICS FOR HANDLING IT, STRESSING THE FREE ASSOCIATION OF NATO MEMBERS IN A DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE, OPEN TO STATES IN THE TREATY AREA SHARING COMMON IDEALS AND OBJECTIVES, AND UNAMBIGUOUS UN CHARTER PROVISION PERMITTING STATES TO JOIN COLLECTIVE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INSTRUCTIONS, MEMBERSHIP, NUCLEAR WEAPONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ullricre
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE391456
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JHHAWES/LM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760461-0043
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761239/aaaabhqq.tel
Line Count: 142
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ullricre
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04 NOV 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <04 NOV 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <09 AUG 2004 by ullricre>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: WARSAW PACT DECLARATION
TAGS: PFOR, NATO
To: SOFIA
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006